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AN

ACCOUNT OF THE MALAY "CHIRI,"

A SANSKRIT FORMULA.

BY

W. E. MAXWELL, M. R. A. S.,
Colonial Civil Service.

JANUARY, 1881.

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AN

ACCOUNT OF THE MALAY "CHIRI,"

A SANSKRIT FORMULA.

By W. E. MAXWELL, M.R.A.S., Colonial Civil Service.

THE presence of a large number of Sanskrit words in the Malay language has often been pointed out, and the purity with which they are reproduced has been a subject of remark, showing, as it probably does, that they have been borrowed direct from the parent-language, and not from any of the Sanskrit-derived languages of India. Their sense, equally with their pronunciation, has varied little, and though many of them are more commonly met with in books than in the colloquial dialects, they are more completely part of the language than the ever-increasing crowd of Arabic words which have been introduced into it since the faith of El-Islam became established among the Malays. There is no documentary evidence, however, to show that the Sanskrit character was ever known to the Malays. What their alphabet was before the introduction of the Arabic character, or whether they ever possessed one, is unknown, though it has been conjectured that the Battak alphabet, or one closely resembling it, may have been in use among them.¹

Mohamedans by religion, and acquainted with no written character but that of the Arabs, a Sanskrit invocation in use among the Malays would appear to be an absolute anachronism. Yet this is what the Malay *chiri* seems to be. Perfectly unintelligible to the people who have handed it down for generations by oral repetition, and in Mohamedan times by means of the Arabic character, and much corrupted

¹ On this subject see "Ueber den ursprung der Schrift der Malayschen Völker," von Dr. Friedrich Müller. Wien, 1865.

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in consequence, it seems, nevertheless, capable of identification as an address of praise, either to a Hindu god or to a Hindu king.

Being in Perak in an official capacity during the military operations in that State in 1875-6, I ascertained that it was generally believed by the natives that among the treasures said to comprise the *regalia* of the Sultan was a mysterious document written in the *bahasa jin* (language of the Genii), on the possession of which the safety of the kingdom depended. The name given to it was *Surat chiri*; *surat* in Malay meaning a document, and *chiri* a "sign" or "written testimony."¹ All inquiries for the document in question, or for copies of it, proved fruitless for a long time. They tended to prove, however, that no manuscript in the Sanskrit or other ancient character existed in Perak, and that the document called *chiri*, whatever it was, was written in the ordinary Malay-Arabic character.

Communication with Johor, the state in which the de-throned Sultan of Perak was living, produced little result. The original *chiri* was said to have disappeared several reigns back, in one of the petty wars which were formerly common in Perak, and though a substitute had been written down from the dictation of one of the privileged family trusted with the reading or reciting of the mystic formula, even this had been mislaid, and could not be found. In 1879, chance brought to light a copy of the document for which search had so long been made. A chest of native manuscripts which had belonged to former Sultans of Perak was opened at the British Residency, and among them was a small MS. volume containing the laws of the State. This transcript was dated the 18th Rajab, A.H. 1234, so it is about sixty years old. On the last page of it was a copy of the "Chiri." This I now subjoin, with a transliteration of it in Roman characters.

¹ *Chiri* is a Javanese word, but is found also in the Menangkabau dialect of Malay.

CHIRI.

اينله چيري

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سَسْتَتَا سَسْتَتَبْ فَرَمَدَهْ فَرُخَرَا فَرُخَرَنَهْ فَرَمَكَبْ فَرَمَكَمْ سَوَجَنَا سَوَجَنَمْ
 بُونَا بُونَمْ بَكْرَمَا بَكْرَنْم سَوَرْنَا سَوَرَنْم بَغَكِي بِيَجِرَا تُعَكَّةَ تَغَكِي دَرِي دَرَنَدَهْ
 دَرِ دَرَكَّتْ مَلَرَكَّتْ مَهْدِي بَوَقْلَ بَيْرَمْ بَيَدِرِيْمَ نِيلَمْ قَوْلَمْ مَرَدَكَمْ دَرَكَمْ
 كَوْمَلَمْ سَوَرَنْ مَانِكَمْ شَهْرَا آلَلَهْ بَدَنْ بَدَنْ آلَلَهْ تَاَجَلْ جَيِبَرْتْ سَمِسْتْ
 فَرَوِيْن سَنَمْ أَوْنْ كَرْتْ نَكْرِي نُكَار سَرِي سَكْتَتَخْ مَهَا مِيرُو دَفْتِكْتْ اَزْنَا
 فَيَنْتِي اَهْلُو سَوَسْتِي مَهَا سَوَسْتِي مَهْرَجْ

اِنْدَر چِنْدَر بَوَقْتِي بَيُوْتَنْ اَنُو كَرْنِيَا نَام اَنُو تَاوْتْ جِيوْتْ فَرِي فَرَنْتَتْ
 تَكَّهْ مَنَكَهْ كَنْ سَتِيَا بَقْتِي كَبَاوَهْ دَلِ فَاَدَكْ سَرِي سُلْطَانْ عَادِلْ آلَلَهْ وَزِيْن
 كِيُوْبَكِي دَلِ لَخْتَكَنْ آلَلَهْ كَرَجَانْ فَاَدَكْ سَرِي سُلْطَانْ مُظَفَّرْ شَاهْ ذِيَلْ
 آلَلَهْ فِي الْعَالَمِ بِرَحْمَتِهْ كَيَا اَرْحَمَ الرَّحِيْمِيْنَ

Bi-smi-llāhi-r-rahmāni-r-rahim.

Sastata sastatab parmada parkhara parkharaah parmakab
 parmakam sojana sojanam buana buanam bakarma bakarnam
 sawarna sawarnam bangka baichara tongkah tinggi dari da-
 randah dari darakata malarakta mahadea bupala beiram bei-
 darian nilam pualam murdakam durakam kumalam sawarna
 manikam *shahara Allah badan badan Allah tajila jibarat*
sainista parwaban sanam awina karti nagari nugara Sri
Saguntang Maha Miru dipatikatu izna payanti Aho sa-
wasti maha sawasti Maharaja Indra Chandra bupati bahutan
anu karunia nama anu tawat jiwat pari parnanta tegoh
munegohkan setia baqti kabawah duli paduka Sri Sultan Adil-
ullah wazina kayubaki di lanjutkan Allah ka-raja-an Paduka
Sri Sultan Moṣafar Shah Dil-ullah fil alam biyyarhamati
*ka-ja-rahmani-r-rahimin.*¹

This mystic document is looked upon by Perak Malays

¹ Malay and Arabic words are in italics.

as a solemn form of oath, and it is always read when the newly-appointed holder of any one of the important offices of the State is invested with his title and honours. The hereditary custodians and readers of the *chiri* are the family of which the chief called *Sri Nara Diraja* (an hereditary grand chamberlain) is the head. They belong to the *bangsa muntah lumbu* ("tribe of the cow's vomit," an allusion to a myth which will be detailed further on), and they avoid the flesh of the cow, as well as milk, butter, *ghi*, etc.

When the *chiri* is read at the installation of a chief in Perak, the candidate stands on the ground below the Raja's *balei* or audience-hall, which is usually a small open pavilion connected with the Raja's residence. The reader stands above, in the hall which is raised—after the fashion of Malay buildings—a few feet off the ground, by means of piles driven into the earth. The *balei* being open on all sides, the reader can take his stand immediately above the recipient of the royal favour, who stands below. The *chiri* is then read, and at a particular passage towards the end of it, where the word *anu* (such-a-one) occurs, the name of the new chief is introduced. Water, in which the royal sword of state has been dipped,¹ is poured from above, its course being directed by means of a plantain-leaf. The new chief receives it in the palms of his hands joined together. He usually receives from the Raja a change of raiment (*turun tiga*), consisting of three garments.

The practice of reading at the installation of chiefs a mystic formula called *chiri*, unintelligible to the Malays who use it, exists at the Court of the Malay Raja of *Brunei* (Borneo), as well as in Perak, and I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Hugh Low, C.M.G., Resident of Perak, for a copy of the Borneo version.²

¹ The dipping of weapons into water or other liquid on the occasion of a solemn oath or engagement is an aboriginal custom which the Malays have, in common with other Indo-Chinese races, the Karens of Burmah for instance. See *Journ. Ind. Arch.* vol. iv. p. 503; McMahon, "The Karens," etc. p. 286; Forbes, *Burmah*, 252; Pallegoix, *Siam*, i. 261.

² The names and dates introduced record the appointment of one "Pangeran Hashim" to be "Pangeran Kasuma Nagara," and of a Chinese named Lee Cheng Lan to be "Captain-Major Darma Raja."

It will be observed that it differs very much from the Perak version, though some of the words are identical, or nearly so; and it is preceded by an Arabic introduction, from which the Perak *chiri* is free.

BRUNEI CHIRI.

اين چيري معكسر چتريه

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام علي سيدنا محمد وعلي
اله وصحبه الكرام فرد الله خيرها وطالا لله عمرها وكمل عزها وفضلها وادم
حياتها ويعطي الله دولت في الدنيا الي درالآخر لانكم رجول عاقل من
كل رعت والوزير الايمان والاسلام بتوفيقي الله

أهوت سَرمَتَ

سَري بُوَهَن سِجَاكُف فَرَكَاسَ فَرَسَخَ سِيجَايَ فَرَبُوَهَن أَوَجَنَ مَدَنًا دِجَبُجُو
بَلَاءَ فَرَكَرَمَ سَري بُوَهَن كَرَتَ مَسَكَلُفَ كَفَرَمَال وَرَنَ وَتِيكَا سَيِّدَ وَأَبْهَوَا
فَعِيرَان هَاشِمَ دَنكَرَا نَامَ فَرِي نَامَ فَعِيرَان كَسُومَ نَكَارَا أَيُوتَ سِيجَبُو
أَفَرِي مَنكُهَكَن سَتِيَا بَقَتِي كَبَاوَه دُولِي فَدُوكَ سَري سُلْطَانِ الْعَادِلِ الْمَظْمُ
دَنكَرِي بَرُونِي دَارِ السَّلَامِ دُولَتِ قَايِمَ مَا دَمَتِ بَرِ الْعَالَمِينَ آمِينَ^٣
وكذلك في سنة^{٢٧٢}

Ini-lah Chiri meng-glar Chatriyah.

[This is the "Chiri" when the title "Chatriyah" (*Kshatriya*) is bestowed.]

*Alhamdu lillāhi rabbi-l-'ālamīn, waṣ-ṣalātu w-as-salāmu ala
seyyidina Muḥammadin wa 'alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi-l-kirām. Fa
ra'ida 'llāhu kheyrāhā wa-ātāla-llāhu 'omrahā wa kammala
'izzahā wa faḍlahā wa adāma ḥayātahā wa yu'ṭi-llāhu daulatān
fid-dunyā ila dār-il-ākhirāh liannakum rajūlun 'āqilun min
kuli ra'yyatin wal wazīru el' imānu was-salamu bitawfiqi-llah.*

Ahota Sarmata.

Sri buhana sichakap parkasa parsang sichaya parbuhana
aulajana madna dikabaju bala parakarama sri buhana karta
maskalang kaparmalawarna witikaya Saidi-saidi wabahua

Pangeran Hashim di nagra nama pri nama Pangeran Kasuma Nagara ayota sichewa-chewa pri menegohkan setia baqti kabawah duli paduka Sri Sultan-al-adil-al-mu'adham di negri Brunai dar-assalam daulatun qāimun mā dumta beya-l-ālamīn. amin. amin. amin.

Wa kaḣālīka fi sanah 1272.

Translation of the Arabic in the "Chatriyah" Formula.

Praise be to God the Lord of all creatures, and blessing and peace upon our Lord Muhammad, and upon his family and companions, the noble! May God bring back their blessing and prolong their life, and make perfect their glory and their excellency and make perpetual their life! And God shall give prosperity in the world until the world to come—for that you are a wise man out of all the people and ministers. May there be faith and peace by the providence of God!

[Then follow the Sanskrit formula and a few Malay words.]

May thy prosperity endure so long as thou remainest in the world. Amen. Amen. Amen.

And thus was given (or taken) in the year 1272.

این چیری منتری

اهوتا سرماتا سری بوهنا سیچاکف فرکاس فرسخ سیچای فربوهنا
اوبجن مدننا دکبچو بلا فرکرام سری بوهن کرت مسکالگو فرملا مالی
ورن وتیکا ایوت سید یوا فربو بهوا فری انچی باب لی چیغلن
دنکرای نام کفیتن مایور درمه راج مناکوهکن ستیا بقتی کباوه دولی
یغدفرتوان السلطان العادل یغمها ملیا دنکری برونی دار السلام دولت
قایم تریم اولیهم هی توهن سرو عالم سکلین اداان

بتاریخ سنه ۱۲۸۰

Ini Chiri meng-glar Mantri.

[This is the "Chîri" used in bestowing the title of "Councillor."]

Ahota sarmata sri buhana sichakap parkasa parsang

sicnaya parabuhana aubajana madanana dikabacho bala parakrama sri buhana karta maskalangku parmala malei warna watika ayota sida-sida yua perbu *Bahwa pri Inche Baba Lee Cheng Lan di-nagra-i nama Kapitan Maiur Darmah Raja menegohkan setia baqti kabawah duli yang di per tuan al-Sultan-al-adil yang maha mulia di negri Brunai dar-assalam dawlaturun qaimun trima ulihmu hei tuhan sru 'alam sakalian adunia.*

Betarikh sanah 1280.

The Malays of Perak say that the *chiri* was first introduced in the time of the first Malay Raja, who came down from the mountain Sagantang Maha-Meru, and appeared suddenly in Palembang, in Sumatra, riding on a white bull. It is not necessary to trace here the origin of the myths connected with the early Malay rajas. It is sufficient to say that it can probably be shown that some of the incidents which appear in Malay traditions bear close analogy to descriptions which are found in Hindu mythology, and that there has evidently been confusion between the history of the first Malay Raja and legends of the Hindu god Çiva, attributes of the latter, the white bull for instance, being introduced into the narrative which purports to treat of the adventures of the former.

The Malay narrative in question is to be found in the *Sajarah Malayu* ("The Malay Tree"), which is an historical account of the royal line of Malacca.

The best known version of this work is the one purporting to have been cast in its present form by a Johor chief in A.D. 1021, but every Malay State which claims the descent of its royal line from the kings of Malacca has probably its own written genealogical work, in which the ancient legends, or some of them, are introduced. A record of this sort, which formerly belonged to the Rajas of Perak, is in my possession, and from it I extract the following passage, in which the first mention of the *chiri* is made. The first Raja has just descended from the heaven of Indra (*ka-indra-an*) upon Mount Sagantang Maha Miru, and with two com-

panions¹ has manifested himself to two women of Palembang named *Pak* and *Malini*. They have received him joyfully, and the local chieftain has abdicated in his favour. The story then continues:

مک اد سیکور لمبو هیدوفن ون فق دان ون ملیني فوته ورنان
 سفره فیرق مک دشن تقدیر الله تعالی لمبو ایت فون منتہکن بوه
 مک در فد بوه ایتله کلور سورغ ما'نسي بط نمان مک اي برديري
 مموچ دمکين بويي فوجين مک راج ایت دگلرن اوله بط ایت سري
 ترپا بونا اد فون انتق چچو بط ایتله اورغ یغ ممباچ چيري در فد زمان
 دهولو کال

"Maka ada sa'ekor lumbu hidopan Wan Pak dan Wan Malini puteh warnania seperti perak; maka dengan takdir Allah taala lumbu itu pun muntahkan buih, maka deri pada buih itu-lah keluar sa'orang manusia Bat namania, maka iya berdiri memuji dimikian bunyinia pujinia, maka raja itu diglar-nia ulih Bat itu Sri Tria Buana. Ada pun anak chuchu Bat itulah orang yang membacha chiri deri pada zaman dahulu kala."

"Now there was a certain cow, the support of Wan Pak and Wan Malini; in colour it was white, like unto silver. By the decree of God most high this cow vomited forth foam, and out of the foam there came forth a man. Bhat was his name. And he stood up and repeated praises, and his praises were after this wise: The Raja received from Bhat the title of Sri Tribuana. It is the posterity of this Bhat who have been the readers of the *chiri* from the days of old (even until now)."

Here, it will be observed, there is a hiatus in the sentence which makes mention of the eulogium pronounced by Bhat; the actual words used by him are omitted, though it would seem from the context that the original narrative must have included them.

¹ One of whom, in some versions, bears the significant name of *Kisna Pandita*, *Kisna* = *Krishna* or *Vishnu*: so here we have two out of the three princes identified by attribute or name with gods of the Hindu Triad.

Turning to the *Sajarah Malayu* we find the same passage in slightly different language, and an attempt is made in some copies to set forth the formula of praise used by Bhat. The following extract shows the different readings to be found in four separate manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society :—

From MS. No. 80 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

اهو سوسنت¹ فادکٔ سري مهراج سرعت² سري سفت بوان سوران
بوم بوجي بال فکرم نگالغ³ کرنا⁴ مگت ران⁵ موکاتري بوان فرلرسغ⁶
سکريت بنا تشکٔ درمون⁷ بسران⁸ کت ران سغگها سان وان⁹ ويکرم
وان¹⁰ رونب¹¹ فلاو دکٔ¹² سدیدا دیو دید فراودي¹³ کال مول¹⁴ مولی
مالکٔ¹⁵ سري درم راج الد راج¹⁶ فرمیسوري

N.B.—This is the passage alluded to on page 24 of Leyden's Malay Annals.

¹ MSS. Nos. 18, 35, and 39 have سوسنت.

² MS. 18 has سرعت.

³ No. 18 has سکلغ.

⁴ No. 18 has کرت.

⁵ MS. 39 has رتن. MSS. 18 and 39 agree with 80.

⁶ MS. 35 has فراسغ. MSS. 18 and 39 have فرسغ.

⁷ MS. 18 has درم ران.

⁸ No. 18 has شران.

⁹ MS. 18 has ران.

¹⁰ MS. 18 has وڈت.

¹¹ MS. 18 has رتن. MS. 35 has رونی. MS. 39 agrees with 80.

¹² MSS. 18, 35, and 39 have فلاویکٔ.

¹³ MS. 18 has فرابودی.

¹⁴ مول is omitted in MS. 18.

¹⁵ MSS. 35 and 39 have مالیکٔ.

¹⁶ In 35 and 39 the word راج is repeated again before the final word. In 18 the final words are سري درم راجراج فرمیسواری.

Transliteration of the above.

Aho susanta (or *sucasta*) paduka sri maharaja sara'at (or *sari'at*) sri sifat buana surana bumi buji bala pakrama nagalang (or *sakalang*) krana (or *karta*) magat rana (or *ratna*) muka tri buana paralarasang (or *parasang*) sakarita bana tongka daramuna besaran (or *darma rana sharana*) katarana singgha sana wan (or *rana*) wikrama wan (or *wadat*) runab (or *ratna* or *runei*) palawa dika (or *palawika*) sadila dewa dida prawadi (or *prabudi*) kala mula mulai (or *kala mulai*) malik sri darma raja aldi raja (or *raja-raja*) paramisuri.

There is a chapter in the *Sajarah Malayu* which treats of the ceremonial of the court of a Malay Raja. The organization is attributed by the chronicler to the first Mohamedan Raja of Malacca, but it is evidently of Hindu origin. The recitation of the *chiri* on the occasion of the appointment of a chief or other officer of the court is alluded to in the following passage:—

"Whenever the Sultan bestowed a title upon any one, he sat in the audience-hall, faced in the customary manner by his ministers. Orders being given that the person to be honoured with a title should be fetched, he was escorted to the royal presence, if a noble, by persons of high rank; if of minor rank, by persons of the middle class; if a common person, by men of the lower class. If the recipient of the title was entitled to mount an elephant, he was brought on an elephant; if a horse was his proper means of conveyance, he was brought on a horse; and if he was entitled neither to an elephant nor to a horse, he was escorted on foot, umbrellas, drums and pipes being used in the procession in any case. The umbrellas were blue, green, or red, as the case might be, the yellow umbrella being the highest permitted to be used. (The use of the white umbrella, and of the royal drum (*nagara*), is altogether forbidden.) The pipe (*nafiri*) may be used in the highest cases. The yellow umbrella is the token of the princes of the blood and of the chiefs. Purple, green, and red umbrellas betoken officers of the court, chamberlains, chief warriors, etc. The blue and

black umbrellas may be used by any one having an honorific title.

When the recipient of the title has arrived, he is made to wait outside the audience-hall while the *chiri* is read in the presence of the Raja by one of the posterity of Bhat."¹

The foregoing extracts summarize all that I have been able to gather respecting the *chiri* from native historians, and it is necessary to go back to the legend of Bhat for internal evidence which may throw some light upon the origin of the formula to which such superstitious importance has been attached in the kingdoms of Malacca, Perak, and Brunei.

Bhat is the usual name in India for a bard or encomiast, and in Gujarat a distinct tribe bearing the name of Bhat, and claiming a semi-divine origin, exercised in former days the very functions ascribed by the Malay annalist to the Bhat of his story, namely, the recitation of laudatory verses and the compilation of genealogies.

Abul Fazl gives an account of the Bhats of Gujarat, which seems to indicate the region from which the Malays have derived their legend.

"The ninth division (of Surat) is inhabited by the Charun tribe. The Hindoos say that Mahadeo created out of the sweat of his forehead a human form, whom he called Charun, and gave him charge of his own ox. This Charun composed verses, sang the praises of Mahadeo, and revealed to mankind past and future events. This tribe, who bear his name, are his descendants. The greatest part of them employ themselves in singing hymns of celebration, and in reciting genealogies; and in battle they repeat warlike fables to animate the troops. They are also famous for discovering secret things. Throughout Hindostan there is hardly a great man who hath not some of this tribe in his service. . . . There is also another tribe called *Bhawt*, who at least equal the Charuns in animating the troops by martial songs, and in chronology excel them; but the Charuns are better soldiers. They say that Charun was created from the

¹ Translated from MS. No. 80 in the Raffles Collection of Malay MSS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

will of Mahadeo, and that Bhawt issued from his spine; and wonderful stories are told of these miracles, the relation of which would cause prolixity."¹

The Malay story of the man Bhat, who was produced from the vomit of a cow or bull, has no slight analogy with the accounts of the supernatural origin of the Charuns² and Bhats given by Abul Fazl, whose alleged fear of "prolixity" has perhaps deprived us of some "wonderful stories" which might more nearly approach the Malay version.

The author of *Râs Mâlâ* ("Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat"), has a good deal to say about these tribes.

"Closely connected with the Rajpoots are the Bards, the Bhâts and Châruns. Of their origin nothing is known, but they assert themselves to have sprung from Muhâ Dev or Shiva. They are in some places cultivators, in others bankers, but their more legitimate occupations are those of acting as securities for the performance of engagements, and of recording the genealogies of their Rajpoot clients. . . . In his heraldic and poetical capacity, however, it is that the bard has been longest and most favourably distinguished. When the rainy season closes, and travelling becomes practicable, the bard sets off on his yearly tour from his residence in the 'Bhât-wârâ' of some city or town. One by one he visits each of the Rajpoot chiefs, who are his patrons, and from whom he has received portions of land or annual grants of money, timing his arrival, if possible, to suit occasions of marriage or other domestic festivals. After he has received the usual courtesies, he produces the 'Wye,' a book written in his own crabbed hieroglyphics, or in those of his fathers, which contains the descent of the house, if the chief be the 'Terlâyuh' or head of the family, from the founder of the tribe; if he be a 'Phutayo' or cadet, from the immediate ancestor of the branch, interspersed with many a verse or ballad, the 'dark sayings' contained in which are chanted forth in musical cadence to a delighted audience, and are then orally interpreted by the bard with

¹ Ayeen Akbery.—Gladwin, Calcutta, 1785, vol. ii. p. 85.

² Chârana, a panegyrist.—Benfey.

many an illustrative anecdote or tale. The 'Wye' is not, however, merely a source for the gratification of family pride or even of love of song; it is also a record of authority by which questions of consanguinity are determined when marriage is on the *tapis*, and disputes relating to the division of ancestral property are decided, intricate as these last necessarily are from the practice of polygamy, and the rule that all the sons of a family are entitled to a share. It is the duty of the bard at each periodical visit to register the births, marriages, and deaths which have taken place in the family since his last circuit, as well as to chronicle all the other events worthy of remark which have occurred to affect the fortunes of his patron; nor have we ever heard even a doubt suggested regarding the accurate, much less the honest fulfilment of this duty by the bard."¹

It is not known to me if those Malays in Perak, who claim to be the descendants of the Bhat of the Malay legend, still exercise any hereditary functions. It is probable that the reading of the *chiri* is the sole remnant of the numerous duties which their progenitor may have had in common with the Bhats of Gujarat. Mohamedan law has of course long since placed all ceremonies connected with marriage in the hands of the Imams and Khatibs, and the average Malay does not suppose that any other ritual was ever known to his race, whom he assumes to have been Mohamedans since the days of Nabi-ullah Ibrahim and Nabi-ullah Daud. It is worthy of remark, however, that, in the *Sajarah Malayu*, the original Bhat who sprang from the cow's vomit is twice described as officiating at marriages, which is one of the peculiar functions of a Gujarat Bhat according to Forbes. On one occasion he marries two women of Palembang to the two companions of Sri Tri-buana, the first Malay raja, and subsequently he takes a prominent part in the rejoicings at the marriage of the raja with his queen Wan Sundari.

I do not of course claim for Gujarat or for Hindu sovereigns a monopoly of the services of a tribe of professional

¹ Forbes.—*Râs Mâlâ*, ii. 262.

panegyrists. Col. Wilks, in his "Historical Sketches of the South of India,"¹ has the following note about them :—

"Bart,—Baut,—Batt, as it is differently pronounced, is a curious approximation to the name of the western *bard*, and their offices are nearly similar. No Hindoo raja is without his *bards*. Hyder, although not a Hindoo, delighted to be constantly preceded by them; and they are an appendage to the state of many other Mussulman chiefs. They have a wonderful facility in speaking improvisatore on any subject proposed to them, a declamation in measures which may be considered as a sort of medium between blank verse and modulated prose; but their proper profession is that of chanting the exploits of former days in the front of the troops while marshalling for battle, and inciting them to emulate the glory of their ancestors."

That the early legends connected with the first establishment of a monarchy among the Malays should have the palpable impress of Hindu imagination, is what any one conversant with the ceremonies and phraseology of a Malay Court would naturally expect. Ceremonial observances of Indian origin are common among Indo-Chinese rulers, the kings of Burmah, Siam, and Cochin-China, as well as the minor sovereigns of Java, Sumatra, and Malaya. The very idea of royalty comes from the West, and must have been quite unknown to the Indo-Chinese tribes in their primitive state. It does not, of course, follow that Burmah and Siam received their Indian teaching at the same time or from the same quarter as Malay countries. The most contradictory opinions have been entertained from time to time by different scholars as to the particular part of India from which the Malays and Javanese derived the Indian civilization which they obviously possessed for many centuries before these races came under the notice of Europeans. An examination of the antiquities of Java, and a very considerable acquaintance with the language and literature of the Malays, were insufficient to enable Sir Stamford Raffles to form any conclusion as to the

¹ Longman, London, 1820, vol. i. p. 20.

identity of the region from which Hindu influences came to the Far East. In his "History of Java" the subject is approached more than once, but no definite opinion is put forward. In his Introduction to Leyden's "Malay Annals" there is no attempt to solve a problem which that particular work is so specially calculated to suggest.

Crawfurd, and Leyden before him, inclined to the belief that the inhabitants of Telinga, or Kalinga, the "Klings" of the Malays, were the people who effected in the Eastern peninsula and islands the introduction of Hinduism,¹ but there is little in favour of such a theory. Words in the Malay language derived from Tamil or Telugu are exceedingly few, and we look in vain for other signs of affinity, while tradition is equally silent on the subject.² There is much to be said on behalf of a theory that would point out Gujarat as the part of India from which in very ancient times Hindu settlers went forth to colonize the more remote East. The earliest incident chronicled in the *Sajarah Malayu* is the conquest of the Malay Peninsula by a Raja Suran, King of "Amdan Nagara," a place which one commentator³ has sought to identify with Hamadan, a town in Persia. I find, however, that in an article on the History of Vijayanagar,⁴ in *Asiatic Researches*, "*Amdanagara*" is treated as synonymous with Gujarat.

Javanese tradition specifically names Gujarat as the place from which a large colony proceeded to Java in the year 525 (A.D. 603-4) under a chief called Sawéla Chála. The colonists, as soon as they had established themselves, communicated with the parent-country, Gujarat, and were joined by their friends and relations in large numbers. "From this time Java was known and celebrated as a kingdom; an extensive commerce was carried on with *Gú*'rat and other

¹ Asiatic Researches, x. 171; Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands, *sub voce* Hindu.

² Marsden combated the Telinga theory, in the introduction to his Malay Grammar, pp. xxix-xxxii, but it has been re-asserted by Mr. Taylor in an essay "On Early Relations of Continental India with Sumatra and Java," Madras Journal, (1850), vol. xvi. p. 104.

³ Braddell, Journ. Ind. Arch. vol. v. p. 132.

⁴ Asiatic Researches, vol. xx. p. 1.

countries and the bay of *Matárem*, then a safe place for shipping, was filled with adventurers from all parts."¹

Nor is this legend of Bhat and the establishment of a family of bards and genealogists the only story in Malay tradition which has its parallel in Gujarat history. The account given by Abul Fazl of the founding of Putten is wonderfully like the tradition of the founding of Malacca as it is related in the "*Sajarah Malayu*." Gladwin's translation gives the episode as follows:²

"In the books of the Hindoos it is written that in the year 802 of the era of Bickarmajeet (Vikramaditya), corresponding with A.H. 154, Bunsraj was the first king who made Guzerat an independent monarchy, which happened after the following manner. Rajah Sirry (Sri) Bhowrdeo, who reigned in Kinoje, put to death one of his subjects named Samunt Singh for being of a base and turbulent disposition, and then plundered his family. The wife, who was pregnant, fled into Guzerat, and there in the wilds was delivered of a son, who is this Bunsraj. By chance Syeldeo, a hermit of Owjain, happening to pass that way, took compassion on the woman and gave the child in charge to one of his pupils, who carried him to Radhunpoor, where he was brought up. When he came to manhood, he associated himself with a gang of highway robbers, whose number increasing, they at length seized the royal treasure which was going to Kinoje.

"Champa,³ a market man, was one of his confederates, and they raised and disciplined troops, by whose means Bunsraj was enabled to establish himself in the kingdom of Guzerat in the fifteenth year of his age. Putten is one of the cities that he founded. It is related that being in doubt where to fix the seat of his government, one Anhul, a cowherd, said, 'I have seen a place such as you desire, which I will discover,

¹ See the account given at length by Raffles, *History of Java*, vol. ii. p. 87 (second edition).

² Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. pp. 89-90.

³ Champa. This word occurs in Malay history as the name of an independent Malay kingdom once established in Cochin China. See Crawford's *Malay Grammar*, Dissertation, cxxix.

upon condition that you call it after my name.' Upon the Raja promising to do so, Anhul directed him to the spot, adding, 'Such is the superior excellency of everything produced here, that a dog, who came from another country, attacked a hare of this place, who, by the exertion of her strength, overpowered the dog and set herself free.' The Raja having founded a city here, called it after the cowherd Anhulpoor."

"After a long course of time the reason for its name having been forgotten, it was called Nehrwareh, and lastly, on account of the excellency of the soil, Putten, which in the language of that country signifies chosen."

Malacca is traditionally said to have been founded by Raja Iskandar Shah, the last king of Singhapura, who was driven from his own kingdom by the Javanese, and took refuge on the mainland. The "Sajarah Malayu" describes the event as follows :

"Sultan Iskandar Shah travelled thence direct to the sea-coast to a river called Bertam. He stood under a tree one day while out hunting, and saw one of his dogs trodden under foot by a white *palandok* (mouse-deer). Then the king exclaimed, 'This is a good place, where even the *palandoks* are courageous. Let us make a settlement here.' The chiefs who were with him assented, and the king directed that a settlement should be made there. He asked the name of the tree under which he stood, and was told that it was called Malaka. 'If that is so,' said he, 'then Malaka is the name of this place.'"¹

There are no hares on the Malay Peninsula; the mouse-deer is the animal which would naturally be selected to represent the hare by any native who was adapting a foreign story to suit local requirements. The similarity between the stories of the founding of Putten and the establishment of Malacca can hardly be accidental, and there can be little

¹ Translated from MS. No. 18, Raffles Collection, R.A.S. Library. Malaka = *malaka* (Sansk.), Emblem myrobolan.

doubt that, like the legend of Bhat, the Malays must have received the incident from an Indian source.

The character used in ancient inscriptions found in Gujarat has been pronounced by competent scholars to resemble similar inscriptions discovered in Java. The similarity of the writing on two copper plates found at Danduca and Bhavanagar in Gujarat (described as 1400 or 1500 years old), to Kawi, the sacred alphabet of the Javanese, was pointed out in 1835 by a writer in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.¹ He (Mr. Wathen) suggested that this might perhaps tend to throw some light upon the era of the conquest of Java, Sumatra, and some of the Eastern Islands, by the Hindus. A somewhat similar comparison occurs in a note in Dr. Burnell's "*Elements of South Indian Palæography*," the author of which states that he owes the suggestion to Dr. Reinhold Rost.²

If it can be established that certain Malay historical legends seem to have had their origin in that very part of India to which the evidence obtained by the comparison of ancient inscriptions seems to point as the land which sent forth the early Hindu colonists of Java and Sumatra, the converging testimony resulting from two independent branches of inquiry is certainly striking. The subject is however too important to be dealt with exhaustively here, at the end of a paper, but it well deserves the attentive consideration of Oriental scholars.

A difficulty suggested by Dr. Vincent has to be met, namely, the existence of religious scruples, which would prevent Hindus from undertaking conquests involving long voyages by sea. He says: "When the Europeans first reached India, Surat was the principal seat of commerce on the north, as Calicut was on the south; and the merchants of Guzerat were the richest and most active traders in India. Surat is not more than forty or fifty miles from Baroache, and Baroache is the Barugaza of the Periplus.

¹ vol. iv. p. 479.

² "*Elements of South Indian Palæography*," A. C. Burnell. Trübner & Co., 1878.

In the age of that work the merchants of this country were not less vigorously engaged in their pursuits; they traded to Arabia for gums and incense, to the coast of Africa for gold, and probably to Malabar and Ceylon for pepper and cinnamon. If I could find anything in history to countenance the idea of the Hindoos being seamen in any age, I should place them in this province. But as Barthema informs us that in his time the Hindoos at Calicut left all navigation to the Mohamedans, so it should seem that the prohibitions of their religion had been uniform from all ages."

"That the greatest trade of India was in that age fixed in Guzerat is evident, not only from the enumeration of articles at this port, but from the general importance it bears in the mind of the author (of the *Periplus*), and the circumstantial detail of all that is connected with it."¹

Though it may be true, that nothing is to be found in *history* "to countenance the idea of the Hindoos being seamen in any age," it is absolutely necessary to assume that in remote ages Hindus most certainly did undertake voyages of conquest and colonization. How else account for the innumerable proofs of Hindu ascendancy in the Eastern islands, the ancient religion, literature, and chronology of Java, the Brahmanism of Bali, and the strong leaven of Sanskrit in the Malay language? To quote Marsden on this subject, "Innovations of such magnitude, we shall venture to say, could not have been produced otherwise than by the entire domination and possession of these islands by some ancient *Hindu* power, and by the continuance of its sway during several ages."² Tin is among

¹ Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, vol. ii. pp. 404.

² Malay Grammar, Introduction, p. xxxii. Objections of this sort do not need answering now. An author who wrote half a century ago says, "Modern inquiries into these matters have been cramped by an erroneous and contracted view of the power of this ancient people (the Hindus), and the direction of that power. It has been assumed that the prejudices originating in Moslem conquest, which prevented the Hindu chieftain from crossing the forbidden waters of the Attoe, and still more from 'going down to the sea in ships,' had always existed. But were it not far more difficult to part with erroneous impressions than to receive new and correct views, it would be apparent that the first of these restrictions is of very recent origin; and, on the other hand, that the Hindus of remote ages possessed great naval power, by which com-

the articles mentioned in the Periplus as imported at Barugaza. This almost necessarily presumes the existence, in the second century of our era, of communication by sea with the Malay Peninsula, the nearest point at which that metal was to be obtained.

"It seems natural to suppose that there always was a Malacca, or some port that represented it, where the trade from China met the merchants from India; as the commerce of India met the traders of Arabia and Persia at Calicut, or some port on the coast of Malabar. In this state of things the Portuguese found the commerce of the Oriental world; and in a state very similar it seems to have existed in the age of the Periplus. This affords us a rational account of the introduction of silk into Europe both by land and sea, and thus by tracing the commodities appropriate to particular nations or climates, we obtain a clue to guide us through the intricacies of the obscurest ages."¹

I must not close this paper without reference to the attempt made by Leyden, the translator of the *Sajarah Malayu*,² to give an intelligible rendering in Sanskrit of the corrupted Malay version. Unfortunately we have no clue to the Malay manuscript from which Leyden made his translation, and there is nothing to show how far his version in the Sanskrit character corresponds with the Malay original. Dr. Rost, who has examined it, pronounces it to agree but little with the only versions of the formula to which we have access. It was not printed until ten years after the death of Dr. Leyden in Java, and has probably suffered for want of revision by him. Neither M. Dulaurier, who edited the text of a portion of the "*Sajarah Malayu*,"³ nor M. Devic, who has recently published a translation of Dulaurier's text,⁴ has noticed the subject at all.

munication must have been maintained with the coasts of Africa, Arabia, and Persia, as well as the Australian archipelago. It is ridiculous, with all the knowledge now in our possession, to suppose that the Hindus always confined themselves within their gigantic barriers, the limits of modern India."—Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ii. 218.

¹ Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, vol. ii. p. 462.

² Malay Annals, Longman, 1821, pp. 24, 100.

³ Collection des principales Chroniques Malayes, Paris, 1849.

⁴ Légendes et traditions historiques (Paris, Leroux).

It has already been pointed out that in the story of Sang Purba, the first Malay Raja, whose praises the Malay Bhat pronounces, there are features which seem to show that the principal character in the narration has been confused with the god Çiva. In the Perak *chiri*, one of the names of that god, "Mahadeva," actually occurs, and perhaps, if the corrupt phraseology of the whole renders even a conjectural translation possible, it will be found that the Malay *chiri*, instead of being the eulogium of a raja, may be a fragment of a Sanskrit address of praise to Çiva.

That this should have survived at all in a Mohamedan kingdom is a singular fact, which may be explained by the circumstance that it must have been always wholly unintelligible to Malays. Whether it was ever recited at the courts of Malay Rajas in pre-Mohamedan days, by a Bhat who understood Sanskrit, must remain unknown to us. It is clear, however, that it had lost its original significance long before the compilation of Malay histories by Mohamedan scribes. Had it been readily susceptible of identification by Mohamedans as a relic of Hindu worship, its use would centuries since have been discontinued. As it is, its meaning, whatever it may have been, has totally disappeared. The same erroneous signification is attached to it in Perak and Porneo, in both of which states it is supposed to have the binding effect of an oath between a candidate for an office and the reigning Sultan who honours him by appointment.

There is another instance in Western mythology of the spontaneous generation of a man from the mouth of a cow which has no slight affinity with the Malay story of Bhat. I refer to the account given in the Eddas of the gradual creation of the man Buri from the frost-covered salt-blocks which were licked by the cow Audhumla. His grandsons, Odin, Vili, and Ve, were gods, and visiting the earth gave life to Ask and Embla, whence sprung the human race.

So, in the traditions of the Malays, the man Bhat springs from the foam vomited forth by the cow of the two women whom the three divinely-born princes find in

Palembang.¹ He is also described as marrying the two women to two of the supernatural visitors, whence proceed all the *Awang* and *Dara*,² i.e. all males and females.

I do not venture to say if there is more than accidental resemblance in the coincidence here pointed out.

The general result of the authorities which have been brought together in the foregoing pages seems to be briefly this:—

Malays in widely-separated States are in possession of a formula in a language which is not Malay, and which seems to be Sanskrit, though so corrupted as to be unintelligible.

This they themselves connect with certain historical legends which are evidently of Hindu origin.

It is impossible to trace the time or manner of their acquisition, but they must have been carried eastward by the agency of Hindus, not of Mohamedans, and there is evidence to connect them with Gujarat.

The subject, therefore, has indirectly some bearing upon the disputed question as to the region in India to which some of the Indo-Chinese owe their Hindu civilization.

The evidence here collected seems to be in favour of Gujarat (Marsden's contention), and against the Telugu theory advocated by Crawford.

¹ This is one account. Sometimes the white bull of Sang Purba is substituted for the cow of the Palembang women.

² *Awang* and *Dara* are Kawi words, meaning respectively "man" and "woman." They are not used in those senses by the modern Malays, but *Awang* is a common proper name (masculine), and *dara* preceded by the word *anak* signifies in Malay "a virgin."

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